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dysentery; may you have smallpox!" (*Kwi berka, kwi berka! Ati berka, tapaka berka!*) Quite apart from the flummery this implies, it was a singularly bad bit of cursing, since both are particularly dreaded diseases. To make matters worse his grandfather had just died of dysentery and everyone in the household was afraid of the ghost. [¶6] §43 §45

My evidence for early speech is confined largely to imprecations during temper tantrums, since in most other respects small children were quite shy in attempting to talk. They were to be seen occasionally addressing a few words quietly to an age-mate or asking an older person for something. There was no direct speech training given by adults. In fact, there was a definite pattern of ridiculing the mistakes of children and teasing them about such errors. Children have to pick up speech through the absorptive processes of hearing older people talk and having instructions addressed to them.

DISCIPLINE

This brings us to another element that enters in early childhood and §57
may continue through the entire life of the less assertive adults, especially women. As soon as a child can toddle about and understand commands, it may be sent on errands and ordered by any adult to give small services. In early childhood such services consist of little more than fetching and carrying things at hand. There is no equivalent of *please* or *thank you* in the Abui language, and the tone of voice in which such services are requested is clearly peremptory. As the anecdotes just told in connection with talking indicates, children soon learn to rebel. De- [¶65]
mands and modes of escape are more clearly developed in late childhood (see Chapter 5), but pressure and resistance are established early.

Since the Alorese have few sacred objects, commands are not loaded §58 ●
with prohibitions. Not all houses contain an ancestral hearth or other §61
sacred objects that children are supposed to avoid. There is little feeling of sacredness attached to any paraphernalia, and taboo restrictions are few and casually observed, so that no heavy burden of learning along these lines is placed on small children. Already at this stage children are not so much debarred from adult activity as given no role in it. This means that such learning as goes on is largely in terms of restrictive discipline and absorption, rather than permissive discipline or deliberate training.

The preceding paragraphs adumbrate the system of shame, ridicule, §61
and teasing that older children and adults use in dealing with their §65
juniors. For instance, it was quite common when children were crying, for mothers to say, "Shame. Don't you see So-and-so is here and sees

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855 small ones. . . . [I was angry] because she was always crying. She
845 cried to go places; she cried to be fed. I hit her on the head with my
knuckles, and then I would feed her. She cried because she was hun-
gry."

833 This passage brings out nicely the two major causes of children's
841 distress: hunger and desertion. Just as clearly, it demonstrates the incon-
855 sistency of treatment and the restrictive quality of the discipline that
pervades the child's life and which might well be expected to breed in it
a sense of bewildered insecurity and suspicious distrust. That a child
may be pleasured and indulged one moment and struck or deserted in the
next can scarcely create an image of a secure outer world.

835 In many instances when children under five years cried, it was ow-
845 ing to desertion by an adult—in many cases the mother. Comparable
rages may occur before the walking stage, but none came to my atten-
tion, although infants in arms cried frequently enough when ill or ap-
parently hungry. The tantrums usually disappear before the child is
five, but there were at least two cases in which boys between the ages
of seven and nine still had acute rages whenever they found themselves
deserted. Many such outbursts are provoked by the parents' slipping
out to attend all-night dances.

855 An important subject in any discussion of childhood is the sense of
858 being valued, which may or may not be imparted to children by their
cultural and familial environment. There are many opportunities for
small children in Atimelang to gain a sense of being valued, but like the
discipline, these must be bewildering in their inconsistency. At the end
of the afternoon, when people are returning to the village for the eve-
ning meal and stop at the dance place for an hour or so of gossip and
socializing, the young walkers playing there may be the center of
amused and affectionate attention. I have seen three or four toddlers
who were attempting to imitate adult circle dances or male challenge
gestures hold the attention of a large group of adults, who encouraged
them and laughed with, rather than at, them. This of course was a sud-
den surfeit of attention and approval in contrast to the day of neglect
which the child might just have spent. It represents also one of the few
cases of constructive teaching, outside of purely physiological controls,
that I saw adults give children.

593 Another experience that many children may have and one that all
598 children can witness is quarrels between parents in which the children
159 themselves are often the pawns. There was the case of Talfani, for in-
stance, a three-year-old girl whose mother and father were threatening to
divorce each other. In the course of an all-day quarrel the wife's ma-

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Chapter 5

Late Childhood: From Loincloth to Thoughts of Marriage

WHEN an Alorese child is given his loincloth, he has taken the first step 858
toward adult status. This marks the beginning of late childhood, a period
that lasts from the age of five or six years until adolescence. Children 153
between these ages are called moku. At the beginning of this stage the
prolonged and violent temper tantrums begin to disappear, and with
some exceptions they completely die out in the course of two or three
years. I should suggest that the disappearance of these tantrums is ex-
plicable in terms of the data contained in the preceding chapter. Tan-
trums are not an adequate technique for mastering an external world so
inconsistent as that provided by Atimelang. Aside from having the fu-
tility of this technique borne in on them, children from five or six on-
ward begin to pick up other devices for mastering the environment —
devices that give greater satisfactions than those they can force from
their elders. It is primarily with these devices that this section will deal.

At this stage differences become apparent between the life of boys
and that of girls, so that it will frequently be necessary to treat them
separately. Certainly one general impression that can be stated imme-
diately is that boys are much less shy, much more in evidence, and
much more mobile than girls. The reasons may be found in what fol-
lows.

RELATION OF FOOD TO TRAINING FOR THE ADULT ROLE

The first question to consider is what food the child expects and 855
from what sources. A boy can expect a meal at home about seven 867
o'clock in the morning and another at about the same time in the eve- [264]
ning. During the intervening twelve hours he learns to forage for him-
self in the fluid play groups of free-roving children. Remnants may be
scraped from the cooking pot; a variety of insects, usually spurned by
adults, can be found; in the fields near the house are papayas, mangoes,
bananas, sweet potatoes, young corn, and other vegetables that can be
eaten raw or can be easily cooked.

As a rule adults do not object to the minor depredations of their 867
own children and their playmates, but if raiding is too constant or the
crop is scarce, children may be forbidden this kind of foraging. Such
objections are most likely to be voiced when children are reaching the
age at which their assistance in the fields might be expected and is not

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543 "The meat of pigs is always
535 distributed to the women but only in terms of the males in their house-
579 hold. That is, women get meat for their husbands and sons but not for
themselves or their daughters. This is consistent with the theory that
[525 flesh food is the property of men. Since feasts are primarily occasions
for food distribution and actual consumption is at home, women do get
a share, but only as dependents of the men. Also, since meat is eaten
primarily in connection with feasts or sacrifices and is definitely a treat,
the way is open for it to become set in children's minds as a symbol of
masculine prerogative. The system of meat distribution helps to rein-
[567 force early in life, and on a very basic level, the role of masculine pres-
tige in the culture. Men are not the providers; in fact, they are quite
the contrary. They are the ones provided for, but they are also the
purveyors of a delicacy.

● 853 The girl, then, is set during early childhood in the essential and intimate relationship to the food cycle that she will follow all her life. Yet no girl who is unmarried may make a contribution in her own name to food displays, even though she may have grown and prepared some of the food that is brought in her mother's name. This means that she may be assuming adult responsibilities without receiving adult recognition. It is worth noting in this connection that public food contributions are the symbol of female adulthood.

537 The following condensed version of an Alorese tale illustrates nicely the role of the sexes, and especially of the mother-son relationship, in the matter of food. Here the young men appear demanding and vengeful, while the woman vacillates between being a gratifying and a frustrating figure.

Story of the Wasteful Sons

Two brothers went to work in their garden and their mother cooked food for them to take along. When they came home they said, "Our friends have finished the food. It would be nice to cook more." So the mother cooked more food and took it to them in the garden. Part of the food they ate, part they spilled. [The meaning is that in carrying the food to their mouths with a coconut-shell spoon they were careless and let a portion fall to the ground.] In the evening they again asked their mother to cook food for them to take to the fields. They took the food and again ate part and spilled part. Then they ran home to their mother, saying, "Mother, we are sick. Therefore cook us millet." The mother put the feces of their youngest brother in the pot of millet she cooked for them.

When the brothers entered the house, they smelled feces and refused

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succession. They beat pieces of wood representing gongs. They organize dances comparable to those of adults, in which they compose verses. This versifying provokes good-natured ridicule among their elders. In their play with bows and arrows boys learn skill in hunting. They even organize mock wars between villages, in which they shoot blunt arrows, throw stones, and hurl obscene insults that most adult men would never use unless they were in an uncontrollable rage. The part boys play in rat hunting, house thatching, and comparable male activities is on a voluntary basis and is usually joyously entered into as long as they are in the mood for it.

In most instances, boys are not counted on to render valuable services. Not until they are thirteen or fourteen are they considered old enough to be sent on financial errands. It is a source of considerable pride at this age to be given these assignments, and most boys seem to carry them out willingly enough. However, in one instance that came to my notice this was not the case. Nicolas ordered a half brother to leave early the following morning for a village about a mile away to fetch a sword that had been promised him. When the boy failed to set out the following morning and seemed unwilling to go, Nicolas flew into a rage and began pursuing him with a length of liana about as thick as his wrist. The boy stumbled and fell, whereupon Nicolas stood over him and beat him unmercifully. Although Nicolas' behavior was censured by the men present, none of them made any move to interfere. At last a distant kinswoman tried to drag the boy away from the rain of blows, but she did not try to stop Nicolas himself. Again there is the picture of restrictive discipline, sometimes brutal in quality, but no attempt to train the young through permissive attitudes.

On the whole, my impression is that children, in their curiosity and eagerness about the life around them, more often than not participate in adult activities. Depending on their effectiveness in a particular situation, they are either utilized or driven off. From the adult's viewpoint, children are welcome when useful, ignored when not, and chased away when nonfunctionally obtrusive.

Children are held responsible for their misdeeds, however. One dramatic case of this sort is worth repeating in some detail. The hero-victim of the episode was a boy about thirteen who was generally known by his nickname, Red Eyes—a name that is about the equivalent of our "Spitfire." Red Eyes was the ringleader of a play group of boys whose ages ranged from about seven to fifteen years. The tumultuous had a guest in his household who happened to stroll past the place where the boys were playing. For no determinable reason Red Eyes

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361 yelled at the guest that he had six fingers. Any unfavorable reference to
358 physical appearance or peculiarities is a deadly insult, and in this in-
672 stance the guest took the opportunity to institute a litigation against the boys, demanding a moko worth two dollars and fifty cents as a fine. There was no attempt to deny the guilt of the children, although only Red Eyes was to blame, and the older kin immediately set out to round up the culprits. Several of them managed to escape. Eight others were dragged to the dance place and made to squat on the ground before the bench of the chief. The kin of the children made a proper show of indignation and two of the stricter ones collected the boys' bows and arrows to toss them on the fire. Several of the men rapped their own children sharply on the heads with their knuckles.

672 By this time the younger and less hardened boys were openly in
[illegible] tears. Meanwhile Red Eyes' father was summoned in his son's stead, and after a long discussion the insulted guest was persuaded to accept a broken gong worth fifty cents as compensation. The tumukun then
347 delivered a moral lecture, which was one of the rare occasions when behavioral precepts were laid down. He said, "If a person is lame, do not stare at him; if someone has big eyes, do not mention it; if someone makes mistakes in talking, do not laugh. If you do these things, people become angry and then your fathers and elder brothers will have to pay a fine for your faults." Here, the tumukun was expounding proper behavior, particularly for males. Another informant, in drawing the differences between men and women, said that men had to be more careful than women not to be insulting, because they were more vulnerable to financial revenge.

672 The anecdote quoted above serves to illustrate many points: First,
358 children are held responsible for misdeeds; second, group responsibility
361 holds even for children; third, a child can escape some of the repercussions of his misdeeds by running off and hiding; and lastly, moral lectures are customarily delivered after, rather than before, the misdeed has been committed.

358 The responsibility of boys for misdeeds, especially theft, is illustrated in a number of incidents in the autobiographies. Perhaps even more far-reaching in its implications is the inclination of people to blame any mishap, destruction, or theft on children. On several occasions when I complained of the theft or destruction of my property, I was answered with a shrug and the comment that boys must have done it and that therefore there was little chance of discovering the guilty one. Actually, in those instances that could be followed up adults were the real culprits.

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CHILDREN AND THEIR PROPERTY

Persons have no scruples about appropriating anything a child may have, or about treating it carelessly at the same time that they admit the child's ownership of the property. This is in marked contrast to the rigidly scrupulous attitudes of some other nonliterate peoples such as certain American Indian tribes. Repeatedly I gave children small gifts, ranging from candy to a tin container, only to see these gifts in the hands of an adult a few minutes later, while the child stood by without source of redress. One of the major difficulties in using free-play techniques was that adults could not be kept from joining the children and appropriating the toys. As young people begin producing or acquiring property of greater value in adult eyes, this situation becomes more acute. (See Chapter 6.) A quarrel between two boys over a bow illustrates several aspects of this situation.

Pedaling, a boy of about fourteen, gave his bow to his uncle, who promised to mend it for him. When it was mended, the uncle handed the bow to his son instead of returning it to his nephew. The son in turn loaned it to a playmate, who broke it beyond repair. When the nephew discovered what had happened he went to the house of the boy who had broken the bow and seized his bow in compensation — a thoroughly adult procedure. The two boys came to blows and soon both were bellowing with rage and pain. Adults took a hand in separating them and suggested various compromises, which the enraged boys both stubbornly refused to accept. Adult relatives became sufficiently excited to begin snatching the bow from each other's hands. At this point two neutral observers rushed in, seized the bow, and broke it into pieces.

Fantan the Interpreter, who was one of the two neutral observers, commented afterward that they would not have dared to break the bow in this fashion if two adults had been quarreling, but instead everyone would have taken sides and tried to settle matters by compromise. Trivial as this incident is, it illustrates not only the helplessness of children in protecting their own property, but also the peculiar harshness toward growing children that manifests itself repeatedly in teasing, ridiculing, frightening, and besting, as well as in a certain contemptuous highhandedness where their property interests are concerned.

As harshness may take the form of confiscating children's property, so solicitude may manifest itself in giving them gifts. A [redacted] gift of meat in the name of boys at feasts has already been mentioned. The loincloth, the symbol of status, is another gift children receive from

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135 persons. Here again, boys, who wear the more highly prized woven cloth, are more privileged than girls, who receive only bark cloth. Both sexes between the ages of eight and twelve hope for the gift of their first shawl. Boys upon request can usually get a man to make them small bows and wooden-tipped arrows, possessions they begin to covet when they are only six or seven. Carrying baskets provided by their mothers are the counterpart for girls. Children of both sexes hope for the hoodlike pandanus rainceps that add so much to comfort during the rainy season, and most mothers see that their children are provided with them, since their manufacture involves only about two or three hours' work.

422f 459 All these gifts are small in comparison to the inheritance of fields —when a child is old enough to work"—which usually occurs between the years of eight and fourteen. Boys and girls alike inherit fields from both fathers and mothers. No distinction is made on a sex basis. The only discrimination is on the basis of industry and aptitude. This inheritance is not so significant as might at first appear. Before the child is told that a particular field is its own, it has probably already helped its parents in cultivating the land. After ownership is transferred, simply by a verbal statement, the field is still worked in collaboration with the family, and in return the child is expected to work in other fields the family owns. The crops raised on a child's field are stored in the loft along with the rest of the year's provisions and are used jointly. The only advantage accruing to the child is that the parents, if they feel they can afford it, will take a portion of the child's produce to the coast to exchange for cloth for his use. In other words, the child's satisfactions from labor are contributing to the larder and perhaps getting the coveted textile. Here again, however, children are largely at the mercy of adults, as portions of the autobiographies indicate. That the advantages are not too patent is shown by the fact that many children have to be forcibly reminded of the virtues of industry.

833 847 183 The unreliability of parents toward their children's property gives an Alorese child early opportunity either to learn the ethics basic to adult property dealings or to develop antagonism not only toward the parents but toward the whole system they represent. This point will appear more clearly in the next chapter.

DISCIPLINE

841 In any discussion of child training, kinds of discipline and the persons who may administer them are of paramount importance. Theoretically, corporal punishment in Atimelang should be administered

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only by biologic parents. Theory does not deflect from the parents to §61
designated relatives any portion of the right to punish; there are no
avunculate or amitate relationships. In practice, however, theory is ig-
nored. True siblings and parents' siblings are almost as free as parents
themselves in rapping children on the head, in pulling ears, twisting
mouths, tying up a child, and other such forms of treatment. Further-
more, older boys whose depredations may make them annoying to
adults may be struck by anyone who catches them in the act, and adults
are free in their use of the loose kinship terminology to justify such
corporal punishment.

Since parents are not nurturing or idealized figures, physical punish-
ment from them is probably not so acceptable as it might otherwise be.
And since corporal punishment may be meted out by any irritated
adult who cannot even theoretically claim to be nurturing, it is not to
be wondered at that children are resentful and fight back when they
are punished.

In addition to corporal punishment, teasing, ridicule, and deception §58
are widely used, not only in disciplining children but also as favorite 522
forms of amusement, especially among young men. I have seen youths §67
in their late teens and early twenties send boys on fool's errands and
deceive them with false promises of rewards for services, and then guf-
faw with laughter when the crestfallen child returned. Fantan the In-
terpreter one day called to an eight-year-old girl whom we passed on
the trail, saying he had just left some honey at her house and she had
better hurry home for it. Actually, we had taken some ripe breadfruit
to her house but it had been eaten up before we left. On another occa-
sion, a man of about twenty-eight sent a twelve-year-old boy to fetch a
bunch of bananas he said he had left at the foot of the village. In return
he promised the boy six of them. The boy raced gleefully to the indi-
cated spot but returned saying he had not found them. He was sent off
again, and when he returned the second time he realized that he had
been deceived. A group of six or seven grown men were sitting about
watching the procedure and laughing heartily, to the boy's evident
shame and anger.

Under such circumstances it is scarcely surprising that lying is taken §§ 7
as a matter of course in Atimelang. To say "You lie" is considered a 577
statement of fact, not an insult or a reproach. People frequently remark, 181
"He speaks with his mouth, but we do not know what he has in his
heart." To speak without regard for accuracy but not necessarily with
intent to deceive for one's own advantage is called "talking at random."
The most commonplace statements are doubted. When I told friends

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of its adopted parents and might live down the stigma of its origin if it proved itself adaptable and able. Once such a person had established himself as a competent adult in the community, it was considered offensive to refer to his origin. It is quite obvious that the lot of a person who has been a slave is not a particularly hard one; but that it is a source of fear to children may well be imagined. Fear of being sold into slavery may be intensified by early childhood experiences of parental desertion. The social attitude toward slavery is undoubtedly colored by experiences in early life.

A similar type of kidnapping may be a form of vengeance directed toward parents delinquent in debt payments, so that the child becomes the victim not of his own misdemeanors but of those of his parents. It is a hard lesson in group responsibility for a guiltless child. Such occurrences, however, are undoubtedly rare. My notes contain only one anecdote of this sort, but it is worth repeating for the light it casts on oblique vengeances, the persistence of hostilities, and the value of a child to parents and to strangers. The event must have occurred some twenty years ago.

Lakaseni of Dikinpe, acting for Senmani of Karieta, got a moko from some Fungwati people. It was worth only a dollar and a half, but despite persistent dunning by Lakaseni, Senmani refused to pay for it. The Fungwati people, to place pressure on Lakaseni, kidnapped his child. In retaliation Lakaseni tried to steal Senmani's eight-year-old daughter but was stopped by one of Senmani's sons-in-law. Despite the beating he received, Lakaseni returned the same day to Karieta and managed to steal another of Senmani's daughters, a child of three or four years. He took her to Fungwati and so bought his child's release.

The mother of the stolen child heard what had happened and that night tried to break into the house in Fungwati where the girl was being held. The door was securely barred but she managed to break through the house flooring. Once she was in the house, however, a group of men fought her off. Senmani himself went to Fungwati the next day and pled with his creditors, but they were adamant, saying they would release the child only when he repaid his debt with exactly the same kind of moko he had secured from them. This particular type was rare; Senmani could not find one immediately and the Fungwati people refused to give him extra time to search for it. The next day they sold the child to a distant village for a three-dollar moko. As the narrator put it, "Fungwati and Karieta had been at war and they still remembered it. Even though Senmani cried and cried, they sold his child anyhow."

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vices with which adults protect themselves and their kin from the malignancy of such ghosts. The only person who claimed to have seen a ghost while I was in the community was a boy of thirteen.

There are also cases of frightening that belong to the category of teasing and that have nothing to do with discipline or education. A case of this sort occurred one night. It is whispered that the Hollanders' voices which travel over a single telephone wire strung along the coast are relayed by dead children whose heads the patrolling soldiers collect for the purpose. This superstition is in itself a new bit of folk belief significant of the attitude toward children. One night when a group of girls and boys under ten were walking along the trail, a grown man who had hidden behind a tree jumped out at them, yelling a curse word often employed by soldiers. The children raced home screaming with fear. Later the man who had frightened them stopped at their house and made fun of them for their terror.

Negative controls range from corporal punishment through deception, teasing, and ridicule to the inculcation of fears. Any one of these methods may be linked to another. From them the child learns not only stereotyped social attitudes but also much of the underlying pattern of human relationships.

SEX

The masturbation that little boys pursue so casually and freely during early childhood seems to disappear after the acquisition of a loincloth. At least it is no longer to be observed, and adults say that "children forget about it." I have, however, noticed young boys who have not yet quite mastered the art of tying their loincloths tugging and pulling on them in a manner suggestive of mild masturbation. There is marked modesty on the part of adults about the careful adjustment of loincloths, and as soon as a child wears his first one he begins adopting the same attitude. When a child is careless, he is laughed at and shamed by older children and adults. Within a year or two most children have learned to manage this garment. One of the acts of aggression at this stage of life, and one that may crop up under extreme provocation in adult quarrels, is ripping off the loincloth of one's opponent. Such behavior brings strong condemnation and even physical punishment from adults (see Lomani's autobiography, page 444). Some youngsters have only cast-off pieces of cloth and seem to suffer the same feeling of inadequacy and shame that ragged children experience in our culture.

Sex play during this period is frowned upon by adults, but it un-

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863 This anecdote illustrates nicely that obedience is expected and that
155 disobedience will be punished. However, the child is not completely helpless in the face of what it considers ill treatment. The possibility of running away or of appealing to other kin in the face of difficulties is one that persists in adulthood. It undoubtedly has much to do with the
182 flexibility and instability of group formations and residence in a society
371 that theoretically rests upon the solidarity of near kin and their ability to function economically and ceremonially. It can result in some cases, of which *Mangma* is one (see his autobiography), in extreme fluidity of residence and opportunism in relationships. In other words, a system of child training can set up behavior patterns that contribute to the disruption of formal social structure and create a considerable gap between theory and practice in community life.

STATUS

157 It was suggested earlier in this chapter that boys might well derive a
858 sense of being undervalued from the lack of provision for feeding them and from the fact that they are given less desirable portions of meat. Teasing and ridicule as well as the casual treatment of children's property are additional avenues for a child's acquisition of a sense of unworthiness. As far as boys are concerned this is to be balanced against the fact that, in comparison with girls, they have fewer duties and hold a relatively privileged position. The situation can be summarized by stating that compared with men, boys are underprivileged, but compared with girls, and even women, they are not.

858 However, these are not the only situations in which a child is made to feel his status. Sometimes contemptuously and sometimes as a matter of fact, adults say, "He is only a child; he doesn't think yet." A comparable comment is, "He hasn't a heart yet." *Heart* is really the equivalent of "within him," so that this is a way of saying that the child is still empty, a person without content. Perhaps one of the most telling bits of evidence for the status of the child in the minds of adults is that to call an adult a child (*mokta*) is a great insult, because, as it was explained to me, it is the same as saying that the person knows nothing, has nothing, and is in general a poor person of no substance.

851 Balanced against all these factors that may lead a child to acquire a
835 sense of unworthiness are certain other tendencies that might serve to enhance the child's sense of importance. In the following chapter it is pointed out that a man does not acquire adult status until he has children. This is not the sole criterion of full status for a man but it is an important one. Also, men are frequently addressed or referred to as

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Also, men are frequently addressed or referred to as "the father of So-and-so." This modified teknonymy is rarer for women. That it should occur in a group where patrilocal residence predominates gives it perhaps a greater significance than if it occurred in a society with matrilocal residence. Children, therefore, are important in giving status to adults. They are valued also, as the next chapter indicates, because they give the death feasts, which mean postmortem prestige for the parents. However, it is quite possible that children may have a value in adult eyes from which the children themselves do not benefit.

There was one case of a child prophet, a little girl of about six called Koleti, who was able to sway the community for several weeks.

One day Koleti's mother sent her to fetch a spoon. The child did not return and could not be found all day. Her father and paternal grandfather, who were on a dunning trip to a distant village, said they saw her appear on the trail and then fade into thin air. That evening the mother heard a rustling in the loft, asked who was there, and heard Koleti answer, "We are. We are coming down." And the child was discovered hiding in the loft.

Some weeks later the mother and father were both in a village about a day's journey away. Again the child appeared and this time ordered them to return to their own home. She then disappeared. Actually, the child had been left at home in the care of a sickly youth of about twenty, who reported that she had disappeared from home at the time her parents believed she spoke to them in the distant village. The child was by now the center of attention in the community, and adults suggested to her that she was in contact with a Good Being and was on the way to becoming one herself. Koleti was quick to play on this suggestion. She ordered a special house built in which she would live alone until the Good Being and his wife arrived to care for her. The house was erected and adults assured me that it had miraculously grown taller overnight. Koleti ordered that an all-night dance be held, saying her supernatural friends would arrive at dawn. When they failed to arrive, interested adults, including her father and his cousin Malelaka (see Malelaka's autobiography), were quick to make excuses and say the advent was merely delayed.

For days Koleti continued to be the center of attention. At a feast she fell ill and everyone crowded around her in concern. Her rationalization was that a small playmate had rubbed his greasy hands on her. Her pronouncements were all in the traditional pattern connected with the advent of a Good Being. She could not attend death feasts, all

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people must abstain from seafoods, and she conversed with ghosts who knew all that had happened. She was assured and autocratic in all she did. She even scolded one of the most influential men of the community, who chanced to be a distant kinsman, for delaying the first feast in connection with the erection of his lineage house. Her tone toward other children was as peremptory as that of adults toward children.

Many details of this anecdote are omitted here since they belong more properly to a discussion of religion, which must await later publication. The episode serves here as a rare, but not unique, instance of singular status achieved by a small child. It demonstrates that even children, to whom the society accords no very high position, may develop devices for wielding power.

CONCLUSIONS

This period of late childhood, when children are referred to as moku, is characterized by the disappearance of temper tantrums and the child's acquisition of devices for taking care of itself in its environment. It is also the time when the discipline foreshadowed in early childhood assumes its harshest forms. The restrictive aspects of this discipline range from teasing and ridicule involving shame to actual physical violence or threats of violence. For boys there is very little constructive training for their adult roles, except as their somewhat privileged position in comparison with girls permits them greater opportunity and furnishes them greater incentives for absorptive disciplines.

Because boys must search for their food they learn incidentally a great deal about the society in which they live. Girls, on the other hand, are deliberately trained in the food quest and the role they must play as providers.

Girls have a less privileged position but more consistent training and constructive participation in the activities of women. That they may resent their status as women is perhaps indicated by the fact that some of the growing girls assume male roles in play. Both sexes have the same experience with inconsistency in adult behavior toward them. Both learn to assert themselves by running off, by seeking the protection of other kin, and by vigorous and often violent resistance. In certain realms at least, both sexes must acquire a feeling of their undervalued position, although they can depend on the assistance of adult kin in litigations and in sacrifices to placate the dead or malignant spirits.

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possible to give any numerical estimate of this group since their status relationships are so shifting. A man might be willing to assume a satellite relationship to a very rich and powerful kinsman, one in the upper ten per cent for example, but would not play such a role to a kinsman in the middle quartile of any hypothetical distribution curve of wealth.

This satellite role is of course markedly reminiscent of the fagging mentioned for growing boys and seems to be a persistence of the childhood role of being ordered about on small errands and duties. In greater docility, in more physical labor, and in the rendering of services, the satellite males approach the role expected of women. This is purely my interpretation. There was in Atimelang no thought of comparing the less successful men with women.

SKILLS

There are in addition a number of lesser skills, nonfinancial in nature, for which a man may acquire a certain reputation even though they procure him no social rewards. There follows a list of men with such skills, which I was able to obtain only indirectly in the course of extended observations. It is by no means complete but gives a sample of skills respected by the group. Not all the men listed here were in that somewhat vaguely defined satellite category. Those listed who were at the same time obviously men of considerable financial power have been starred.

Lakamobi of Alurkowati: calendarer; making of wooden mortars.
Rilpada of Dikimpe: a seer.
*Malefani of Dikimpe: burying lepers, making leprosy curses; a minor seer.
Riemau of Dikimpe: butchering animals and dividing meat at feasts.
Maieta of Lawatika: making village guardian spirit carvings.
Padamai of Folafeng: carving.
Fanseni Long Hair: carving; knowledge of ceremonial procedure.
*Maliseni: vigor and violence in debate.
Mangma of Karieta: genealogical information; industrious gardener.
Lakamau of Alurkowati: skill with bow and arrow; skill in extracting wax from people's ears.
*Atakalieta of Folafeng: making curses to protect fields from theft.
Nicolas of Folafeng: divination by means of chickens.
Atafani of Atimelang: fencing with clubs.
*Maikalieta of Atimelang: clearing new fields.
Manimale of Alurkowati: suspected poisoner.
Padatimang of Dikimpe: a seer.

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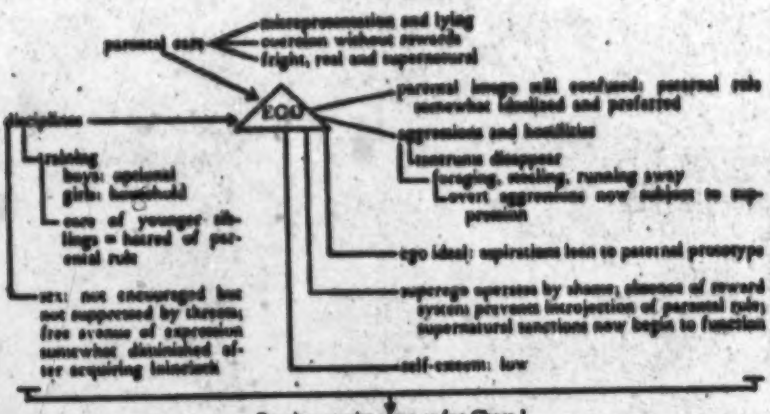
Chart II. Late Childhood


misrepresentation and lying
coercion without rewards
fright, real and supernatural
parental care
EGO
disciplines
parental images still confused; parental role somewhat idealized and preferred
aggressions and hostilities
internum disappear
foraging, stealing, running away
overt aggressions now subject to suppression
training
boys: optional
girls: household
care of younger siblings = hatred of parental role
ego ideal: aspirations lean to parental prototype
sex: not encouraged but not suppressed by threats; free avenue of expression somewhat diminished after acquiring loincloth
superego operates by shame; absence of reward system prevents introjection of parental rules; supernatural sanctions now begin to function
self-esteem: low

Resultant traits same as for Chart I.

155 more distrust and ends finally in the child's complete inability to believe
855 anyone. This circumstance perhaps more than any other is responsible for the weak libidinal ties and the internal sense of isolation that individuals often have. There are no permissive disciplines at this time,
[861] and further new sanctions are invoked in the form of supernatural disapproval. It is at this time that the child also learns that none of its
[858] rights in the family are inviolate, that gifts received can be revoked arbitrarily, and that even such gifts as fields, gardens, and pigs are really only nominal.

154 To offset these circumstances the child, particularly the boy, has a channel of expression, perhaps the most common that the culture recognizes, namely, running away. This offers both a safety valve for the pent-up aggressions and an opportunity to sustain the hope that the child may in one of its other relatives find the kind parent so long sought.

864 One of the advantages to childhood development is the rather lacka-
154 daisical attitude toward sexual practices in children. In this activity they can indulge, surreptitiously to be sure, but without fear of serious punishment. However, it must be noted that sexual activity in children is tolerated rather than permitted or encouraged. The child's pilfering
[857] and its opportunities for sexual activities with other children in some measure keep in balance those constellations already formed in early childhood. The activities afford some expression for pent-up hostility, but the situation is very little altered. It is likely that these oppor-

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It is likely that these opportunities for both stealing and sex activity prevent the aggressions of early childhood from reaching explosive forms later.

It is not likely that the suppression imposed on overt forms of aggression or the gradual diminution in the use of obscene words injures the child in any way. However, it must be noted that the self-esteem of the child is in no way improved over what it was earlier in childhood; it still remains low. The child must still have the idea that it is a supernumerary, that it is of no account, for only grudgingly is the boy permitted to participate on the fringes of adult male activity. In this respect the position of the girl is distinctly better, but for reasons that we shall presently see, the prejudices accumulated in childhood do not make the maternal role acceptable to her.

ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE, AND SEX

From this point on, the basic personality structure of the males and females must be considered separately.

Induction into adulthood for the boy is not accompanied by any severe puberty rites to mark the introduction of new and serious restrictions. It is not infrequently the case in societies where puberty rites are severe that the boy is compelled to surrender certain advantages of immaturity and is given new ones that he heretofore did not enjoy. As a matter of fact, in Alor puberty does not introduce the boy to any strikingly new experience; on the contrary, it is the beginning of a long and arduous struggle for the achievement of manhood. The success of this achievement is vested largely in the father, who by virtue of his control over property—or of the opportunities for gaining control over it—can indefinitely delay the boy's entrance into manhood. Nor is there any necessity for binding the child to any rigid sexual taboos; these are left in the same status as in early childhood, that is to say, sexuality, as such, is permitted, but gaining status by marriage is rigidly under control. The theoretical advantage of free sexual play is thus actually canceled. The situation eventually arises where the father actually interferes, not with sexual gratification or the opportunities therefor, but with admission to the status of marriage. (See Chart III.)

In relation to his father the boy continues to operate under a system of coercions without rewards, notwithstanding the fact that the power of the father is only relative and the actual control of the subsistence economy is largely in the hands of the women. The status of the father becomes the envied objective of the boy.

In order to evaluate the boy's approach to a wife we must see those integrational systems which have already been formed by the time he